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PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY DECISION MAKING

BY KOREAN HOME MANAGERS

by

Hyo-Sook Hwang

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Home Economics and Consumer Education

.....

To my mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express to Professor Jane Lott, my Major Professor, my sincere appreciation for providing her precious time, creative thought, and intellectual excitement throughout this project. Without her exceptional guidance this study would not have been accomplished.

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Hyo Sook Hwang
Hyo-Sook Hwang

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ABSTRACT

Participation in Family Decision Making

By Korean Home Managers

by

Hyo-Sook Hwang, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1978

Major Professor: Professor Jane Lott
Department: Home Economics and Consumer Education

The purpose of this study was to determine the degree of participation in family decision making among Korean home managers residing in Salt Lake City, Utah, with respect to selected variables, such as the length of stay in the United States, the husband's nationality, the husband's occupational status, the levels of education of both husband and wife, the difference in education between husband and wife, the wife's employment status, and the stage in the family life cycle. A questionnaire was constructed and administered by telephone interview to 72 Korean home managers in Salt Lake City.

On the whole, the pattern of participation in decision making among Korean home managers was different from that anticipated and unlike the pattern observed in previous research in different cultures. In general, we found more joint decision making and less husband dominance than expected. Most striking was the finding that the wife's employment was related to lower participation in decision

making, rather than higher participation as had been found in previous studies. We also found that home managers with professional husbands participated in decision making much more than those with working-class husbands. It should be noted that the subjects were a special group whose husbands' occupations were either professional, worker, or student. Upper middle-class occupations were almost totally absent. Another peculiarity of the respondents was the extremely high level of education, particularly that of husbands, almost half of whom held either a master's or doctorate degree. With this peculiar educational background, the wife participated more in decision making when the husband had either a very high or low level of education. This relationship was consistent with most previous findings for the developed countries. However, the wife's education did not show any significant relationship with her participation in decision making. Wives with preschool-age children tended to participate less in decision making than those without children in this age group. Contrary to our expectation, we did not find any significant change in decision-making patterns with the number of years the respondents had lived in the United States. Being married to American husbands did not affect the pattern significantly. Finally, we concluded that a family decision-making patterns were in transition from a traditional to a more democratic form among Korean families residing in the United States.

(103 pages)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Decision making is the crux of management (Paolucci and O'Brien, 1959). Management in the home is characterized by a never-ending series of interrelated and interdependent decisions (Schlater, 1967). "The course of action that a family takes rarely just happens; it is based on decisions." (Paolucci and O'Brien, 1959, p. 29) Mother decides what her family will eat for dinner. Parents determine where the family will live. A couple makes decisions, such as parenthood, which involve lifetime commitments. Decisions made in the management of a home range in importance from major, once-in-a-lifetime, decisions to minor ones, many of which are recurrent. Clearly, more deliberation is needed for those of major importance; however, the importance of the cumulative effect of minor decisions should not be overlooked. The success of the marriage will partially depend upon the totality of the decisions made as the couple lives together (Gross, Crandall and Knoll, 1973).

The impact of social change has brought about dramatic consequences to American marriages and family living since the turn of the century (Bee, 1960). While families

still carry on many important functions, such as nurturing of their young and the fulfillment of economic and emotional needs of family members, the picture of the family has been shifting markedly from one of male-dominance to a more democratic form; that is, men and women hold complementary but equal positions (Lane, 1973). Emphasis is now placed on the ideal of shared responsibility, including joint family decision making (Gillespie, 1971). It is noticeable, though, that few families are prepared to implement this idealized arrangement. A woman's long training in passivity and dependence appears to affect her overall motivation to achieve, to search for independent ways of doing things, and to welcome the challenge of new problems. Women have been socialized to feel foreign to an equalitarian arrangement within marriage (Bem and Bem, 1973).

The United States has been regarded as a melting pot of diverse cultures. It has from its beginning been transfused by many different ethnic groups. Koreans have become one of the subgroups in America with a distinctive life style (Simpson, 1960). The Korean family has had a long tradition of patriarchal domination. The father, as head of the household, has had almost unlimited power. Females were expected to be submissive, and the children were taught to cherish filial piety (Osgood, 1951). Through the impact of modernization,

industrialization, and urbanization, however, the Korean family is in the process of transition (Sie, 1968).

Changes in dominance patterns may occur more rapidly when Koreans move to the United States and are directly exposed to the American culture. Simpson (1960) hypothesized that male dominance was being gradually weakened; the female was beginning to function as the home manager and participating in family decision making more actively than ever before in an immigrant family having a patriarchal background. He further contended that the break from tradition becomes greater as she achieves more leisure time through labor-saving devices and begins to look upon herself as an individual who has equal human rights, realizing her capacities as a wage earner. Yet, the degree of her participation in family decision making might be affected significantly by a number of factors, such as her length of stay in the United States, her husband's nationality, the husband's occupational status, the levels of education of both husband and wife, the difference in education between husband and wife, the wife's employment status, and the stage in the family life cycle.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the degree of participation in family decision making among Korean

home managers residing in Salt Lake City, Utah, in relation to selected variables.

Definitions of Key Concepts

The following definitions were used for this study:

Decision making—a process which leads up to the choice of a course of action from among the available alternatives.

Home management—a purposeful behavior involved in the creation and use of resources to achieve the family's goals.

Home manager—a person who manages the home environment through participation in family decision making related to achievement of the family's goals.

Justification of the Study

As a substantial change in the role of women occurs in the United States, the roles that they play in decision making become more important to the family itself and to the society of which the family is a part (Green and Cunningham, 1975). There is a necessity for more information about (1) which family decisions the wife participates in, (2) the extent to which she participates in family decision making, (3) how the degree of her participation in family decision making changes over the family life cycle, (4) what factors are related to the degree of participation in family decisions, (5) how much change

there has been from the traditional pattern of family decision making toward an egalitarian arrangement, and (6) how the traditional pattern of decision making is altered when the family is in the process of assimilating a completely contrasting culture. Empirical information about the changing pattern of family decision making would be valuable to many different groups, including family life educators, women's liberation advocates, family sociologists, marriage counselors, social workers and market researchers. The knowledge would aid understanding of changing role patterns and relationships among family members in modern American society. In view of the relative scarcity of crosscultural studies in family decision making, this specific study could make an important contribution in the area.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were proposed:

1. The longer the wife has been in the United States, the more she participates in family decision making.
2. Women married to American husbands participate more in family decision making than those who are married to Korean husbands.
3. The higher the husband's occupational status, the less the wife participates in family decision making.

4. Women whose husbands have a high level of education participate more in family decision making than those whose husbands have a low level of education.
5. Women with a high level of education participate more in family decision making than those with a low level of education.
6. The more the husband's education exceeds that of the wife, the less the wife's share in family decision making will be.
7. Women who work outside the home participate more in family decision making than those who do not.
8. Women who have preschool-age children participate the least in family decision making.
9. There still exists a strong tendency in most families for husbands to make most of the really important decisions.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Management and Decision Making

Decision making is a crucial component of management (Gross, Crandall and Knoll, 1973). According to Paolucci (1965), family decision making is "... the every resolution of competing values and goals, and the realization of specific goals through the creation, allocation and utilization of resources." (p. 1) Home management, as Paolucci and O'Brien (1959) stated, is a series of decisions which form a goal-directed process, and this, in turn, serves as a vehicle for helping families channel their resources toward achievement of goals. Every managerial process requires many interrelated decisions (Gross, Crandall and Knoll, 1973).

Lilienthal (1967, p. 14) stated that,

The heart of the modern managerial task is to close the gap between man's goals and the fulfillment of those goals. ... The managerial life is the broadest, most demanding, by all odds the most comprehensive and the most subtle of all human activities.

Home management is a human-centered practical science which investigates the processes used by home managers in making and implementing managerial decisions (Schlater, 1967).

Family Decision Making

Daily, we are faced with problems of selecting the course of action we feel are best. Every person, both as an individual and as a family member, makes a myriad of decisions. Some decision making is routine or habitual. How to wash dishes, prepare regular meals, care for one's personal appearance, and clean the house are examples of routine decisions which can be made almost automatically. However, more conscious decisions are necessary if families are to channel their resources to attain their goals. "When conscious decisions are developed into a goal-directed process, they become the building blocks of the managerial process." (Paolucci and O'Brien, 1959, p. 29)

Decision making is an essential feature of family life. . . . Decisions are made every day, and these decisions direct much of human behavior. New kinds of decisions arise throughout the family life cycle. Because of the importance of marital decision making and because of the changing nature of family decision making roles, studies of various aspects of family decision making seem necessary. (Jerjes, 1977, p. 146)

Social Change in the Family

Contemporary theorists of the family agree that "... the American family has evolved from a paternalistic to a much more democratic form." (Gillespie, 1971, p. 445) Traditionally, "To a married woman, her husband was her superior, her companion, her master. In every sector of

the social arena, women were in a subordinate position." (Gillespie, 1971, p. 445) The husband's experience and superior skill gave him unquestioned authority in the family (Bee, 1960). According to Goode (1963, p. 70),

In the final analysis, only a few family relations are not determined by the male. It is not possible at present to state just how well such a statement could be applied to other countries. In reality, in all countries there are many women who manage to dominate the man, but it seems likely that in most countries, when the husband tries to dominate he can still do this. Even when the husband performs the household chores, his participation means that he gains power—the household becoming a further domain for the exercise of prerogatives for making decisions.

Perhaps the crucial qualitative difference is to be found in the extent to which, in one country or another, the male can still dominate without a definite effort to do so.

Goode (1964, p. 75) also calls this "negative authority—the right to prevent others from doing what they want."

Today, the husband's opinion "... no longer carries the weight of authority it did formerly." (Bee, 1969, p. 8) The husband "... recognizes more willingly the independence of his wife's demands, they may share house-keeping and diversions, and the wife may even work." (Gillespie, 1971, p. 445) Accordingly, most husbands admit more readily the wife's right to participate in family decision making. In fact, "... sociologists claim that the modern husband and wife are so nearly equal in power that marriage today can be termed 'democratic,' 'equalitarian,' or 'egalitarian.'" (Gillespie, 1971, p. 445)

In a major project on the modern American family, Blood and Wolfe (1969, pp. 29-30) stated that,

... Under former historical circumstances, the husband's economic and social role almost automatically gave him preeminence. Under modern conditions, the roles of men and women have changed so much that husbands and wives are potential equals—with the balance of power tipped sometimes one way, sometimes the other. It is no longer possible to assume that just 'because' a man is a man, he is the boss. Once upon a time, the function of culture was to rationalize the pre-dominance of the male sex. Today the function of culture is to develop a philosophy of equal rights. ... The role of culture has shifted from sanctioning a competent sex over an incompetent sex to sanctioning the competent marriage partner over the incompetent one, regardless of sex.

According to traditional notions, the position of women in the oriental family was a lowly one under the patriarchal system. However, a change has certainly taken place in the oriental countries.

... The Confucian definition of the father/husband role has disappeared, and an egalitarian, "democratic" definition of the new father/husband role predominates. Consequently, nonauthoritarian fathers are no longer required to act "thunderously." There must also now be some young Japanese men whose personality is authoritarian, but who may no longer express that trait in their behavior toward wife and children because the new norms disapprove of it. (Wagatsuma, 1977, p. 205)

Lupri (1969) stated that "the extent of paternal authority in a society is inversely related to the degree that society is industrialized and urbanized." (p. 134) While experiencing rapid modernization of their countries, the oriental family is in a process of transition from the traditional family to the modern (Sie, 1968).

The dictatorial authority of the traditional male head of the family seems to be dwindling. Increasing numbers of women are educated and employed outside of the home; the family-centered type of home industry is decreasing. The trend seems to be toward distribution of authority between the male and female heads of the family, where policies concerning child rearing, family finance, recreation, and other family matters are shared. Thus, a more cooperative effort is sought rather than the domination of one person over the rest of the family, as was true for centuries. (Sie, 1968, p. 282)

There has been an increasing interest in studying different aspects of decision making in family life (Schlesinger, 1962). The importance of family decision making studies was emphasized by Schlesinger (1962), who stated that, "They give us a picture of one of the most important functions of the modern American family." (p. 13) He further indicated the lack of crosscultural studies by saying:

... However, we have to study diverse families of different social class backgrounds, ethnic origins, racial groups and religious denominations in order to explore the common and varied patterns of decision making in North America. Up to now, we have concentrated mostly on the middle class, white family, and it is possible that we are "over-reaching" this group. (Schlesinger, 1962, p. 13)

Although this statement was made over a decade ago, it is probably still true for today's situation. The necessity of comparative family research was emphasized by Cromwell et al. (1973) who said, "Comparative family research will undoubtedly provide the arena for discovering new and intriguing insights into changing roles of men and women in family groups." (Cromwell et al., 1973, p. 193)

Factors Affecting Family Decision Making

The literature on family decision making indicates that socioeconomic variables have received the primary emphasis. The studies have investigated the effect of husband's occupational status, education of both husband and wife, employment status of the wife, husband's earnings, and stage of family life cycle on decision-making patterns.

Occupational Status of Husband

In one of the most important studies of the last two decades, Blood and Wolfe (1960) investigated the structure of family decision-making patterns and the associated factors among 909 families in the Detroit metropolitan area. Although this study has been criticized by many, it remains influential, since it was a pioneer study on family decision-making patterns. Blood and Wolfe (1960) found a positive relationship between the husband's participation in family decision making and his occupational status. That is, the higher the husband's occupational prestige, the greater his voice in family decisions. The major break came between white-collar occupations and blue-collar occupations; the white-collar husbands had much more influence in decision making than blue-collar

husbands. Blood and Wolfe (1960) explained such a relationship as follows:

... the prestige of white-collar work provides self-confidence in his own eyes and respect in the eyes of his wife. ... Moreover, husbands accustomed to responsible roles on the job would understandably be inclined to take responsibility in the home. As a result of such factors, white-collar husbands are extra-equipped with the knowledge and skills required for decision-making and their wives correspondingly inclined to recognize their husband's competence along these lines. (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, pp. 30-31)

Andrée Michel (1967) replicated the Blood and Wolfe study among French families. She found a similar trend in participation patterns in family decision making as Blood and Wolfe had found: The higher the husband's occupational status, the more he participated in family decision making. The least domineering husbands were the semiskilled and unskilled workers. The participation of husbands in family decision making tended to increase with the degree of skill required in his occupation and the degree of prestige attached to it. Michel's explanation for this relationship was similar to that given by Blood and Wolfe, i.e., such a relationship might be due to the recognition by both partners of the husband as the most qualified decision maker in the family.

Lamouse (1969), in a study of 245 wives and 264 husbands in Münster, Germany, found that wives of blue-collar workers had the most influence in decision making, wives of white-collar employees less, and wives of self-employed husbands had the least influence of all.

In contrast to the studies of the Detroit, French and German families, the research conducted by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (1967) among Athenian wives indicated that the Greek husband's possession of a skilled or prestigious occupation tended to diminish rather than increase his decision making participation in the family. Husbands who were professionals, administrators, managers, and civil servants in high positions participated the least of any group in family decision making. On the other hand, husbands who are semiskilled and unskilled workers and owners of businesses were most domineering in family decision making. It was also found that,

When an index of social status was calculated on the basis of the husband's education and occupation, ... the authority of the husband was maximum among those with the lowest social status (the lowest social class) and minimum among those with the highest social status (in the upper and upper-middle class). (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967, p. 348)

Cromwell et al. (1973), as a result of research in Mexican families, found an inverse relationship between the occupational status of husbands and influence on decision making: As occupational status increased for Mexican husbands, their participation in decision making decreased. Mexican husbands tended to have a more egalitarian attitude toward the family decision-making pattern as their social status increased.

Education

Blood and Wolfe (1960) found education to be an influential factor in family decision-making patterns. The data showed a positive relationship between husband's education and his participation in family decision making among Detroit families: The higher the education of the husband, the greater his participation in family decision making.

In a study of French families by Michel (1967) the trend observed was the same as that of Blood and Wolfe. The higher the husband's level of education, the greater was his participation in family decision making.

However, in the study of Blood and Wolfe (1960), after 16 years or more of education, the husband showed less participation in family decision making than those who had between 12 and 16 years. The same trend had been observed in West Germany by René König (1957). The husband's participation in decision making was low when the husband's education was low, reached its peak with a middle rank in education, and began to decrease with the highest levels of education.

In a study of German families, Lamouse (1969) concluded that wives had more participation in family decision making when husbands had a lower level of education than when they had a higher level. This finding was consistent with the König's (1957) among other German

families, where the husband's education showed a positive relationship with his participation in family decision making.

Safilios-Rothschild (1967), in studying Greek families, pointed out that the husband's possession of a higher education reduced his participation in family decision making, in contrast to the Detroit, French and German studies (König, 1957; Lamouse, 1969). According to Safilios-Rothschild (1967, p. 347),

... education frees Greek men from the traditional ideology so that they view their wives as equals—companions and friends—who should be consulted before a decision is made and be given the initiative to make some decisions themselves. Education, in the Greek culture, seems to be associated with more modern and liberal attitudes favoring an equalization of authority between husband and wife. On the other hand, when the husband was not educated he tended to view his wife as merely a housekeeper and mother and as subordinate to him. Thus, he was not willing to let her make decisions.

In a study of blue-collar group marriage, Komarovsky (1967) found that education became an important variable when the husband's social status, based on occupation, income, etc., was relatively low. In working-class families, the less-educated husbands had more influence on decision making than those with a higher education. Komarovsky (1967) concluded that patriarchal attitudes were more prevalent among the less educated, in which case the husband was more likely to exert male superiority over his family.

Cromwell et al. (1973), in a study of Mexican families, also found that an increase in the husband's education resulted in a decrease in his participation in decision making. A Japanese researcher, Kunio Tanaka (1965), found the husband had a greater influence on family decision making among less-educated Japanese people and an increase in wives' participation among the better educated. The study also indicated that in most families the wife was in charge of the family finances, and this tendency was particularly strong among those in which the husband's educational level was high.

Koyama et al. (1967), in another study of Japanese families, found that the higher the educational level of the husband, the more frequently the wife alone make decisions regarding the purchase of major items. Among the better educated and wealthier couples, the wife seemed to have considerable autonomy in managing the economic life of the family.

Difference in Educational Levels

In comparing the education of husband and wife, Blood and Wolfe (1960) concluded that when the husband had a higher education than the wife, he increased his participation in decision making. On the other hand, when the wife had a higher education than her husband, her participation in decision making increased.

Michel's (1967) research revealed that the effect on decisions was the same as that found in the Detroit families when the difference of education between spouses was compared in French families. If the wife had a higher education than the husband, she participated in family decision making more than if she had a lower education than the husband, and vice versa. Educational level was a basic resource for increased participation in family decision making for both husband and wife.

In Greek families, Safilios-Rothschild (1967) contended that when the husband's educational achievement only equaled that of his wife, his participation in family decision making increased. However, when the wife's educational accomplishment was higher than her husband's, her participation in family decision making tended to increase. According to Safilios-Rothschild, the resources that the wife possessed proved her abilities in such a way that even the traditionally minded males had to accept her competence.

Employment Status of Wife

It is often assumed that the wife's participation in the work force has an effect on her degree of participation in family decision making.

... it seems likely that employment would increase a woman's power vis à vis her husband because of the socially defined importance of the monetary contribution. (Hoffman, 1960, p. 27)

When examining the relationship between the wife's employment and participation in family decision making, Heer (1958) and Blood and Wolfe (1960) concluded that working wives have substantially more participation, on the average, than nonworking wives. The more often the wife worked outside the home, the more she participated in family decision making.

... Women who work have more power vis à vis their husbands than do nonworking wives, regardless of race or class. The number of years the wife has worked also affects the balance of power—the longer she has worked, the more power she is able to obtain. (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, pp. 40-41)

According to Hoffman (1960, p. 28),

... because she is working and earning money she gains a new concept of her own worth and thus becomes more assertive. In short, both the husband and the wife are more likely to accept the legitimacy of the working woman's claim to power.

Michel (1967) in her study of French families found results similar to Blood and Wolfe's (1960). The more often the wife worked outside the home, the more she participated in family decision making.

The study of Greek families by Safilios-Rothschild (1967) showed the same trend as the American and French studies in relation to the wife's employment status. Wives' employment led to an increase in their participation in family decision making. However, as Safilios-Rothschild (1967) commented, the decisions that the working wives usually made were restricted to the more "feminine"

decisions, such as child rearing, purchasing clothes for the entire family, purchasing furniture and other household items and, less often, the budgeting of money. Thus, she contended that although working wives made more decisions within the Greek family, this did not directly threaten the husband's position in the family.

Lamouse (1969), in a study of German families, found the same tendencies as were found in the Detroit, French and Greek families.

... At every level of social strata the husband's authority decreases when his wife is working. This supports the hypothesis that an extension of the female role in respect to social systems other than the family will result in more competence and therefore more influence in decision making. (Lamouse, 1969, pp. 150-151)

In direct contradiction to the findings of most studies, Middleton and Putney (1960) found that wives not employed outside the house participated significantly more in family decision making than wives who were employed outside the home. The Middleton and Putney subjects were forty married couples, ten couples in each of four groups—white professors, white skilled workers, black professors, and black skilled workers. The possible reasons for these findings were given by Middleton and Putney (1960, p. 609):

... husbands whose wives do not work tend to leave minor family decisions largely to the wife. Husbands of working wives on the other hand, almost necessarily participate to a much greater degree in home life and might, therefore, be expected to play a greater role in minor family decisions.

Stage in Family Life Cycle

The stage in the family life cycle has also been studied in relation to its possible effects on family decision-making patterns. Blood and Wolfe (1960) found that there was a substantial increase in the participation of the husband in family decision making with the birth of the first child. After the first child was born, until the oldest child was in school, the influence of the husband on family decision making reached its maximum. The reason, according to Blood and Wolfe, was that many women stopped working during this stage, becoming isolated and almost totally dependent socially, economically and emotionally upon their husbands.

... There is more than a little truth in the old saw that the best way to control a woman is to "keep her barefoot and pregnant," for there is evidence that the power of the wife declines as the number of children grows. (Heer, 1958, pp. 341-347)

Gillespie (1971, p. 456) contended that, "In the early (childless) stage of marriage, the wife is frequently working. ... During this period, the influence of the husband on the family decision making is moderate."

Blood and Wolfe (1960) further revealed that as children became older, the wife gradually increased her participation in family decision making. Women in their forties and fifties participated more in family decision making than women in any of the other stages of the

family life cycle. Women who were middle-aged appeared to have achieved a strength and self-confidence which younger women seldom had.

In a French family study, Michel (1967) concluded that the period where there were very young children in the home was accompanied by an increase in the husband's participation in family decision making. The trend was consistent with that found by Blood and Wolfe (1960) in the United States. According to Michel (1967, p. 338),

... motherhood constitutes a greater transition for the woman than the marriage itself. ... the presence of very young children in the home creates needs for the wife which lead her to depend on her husband much more than before the birth of children for help, financial support, and decision making.

The wife in France, as in the United States, increased her participation in family decision making when the children were school-age. "Indeed, she can resume her occupational life and decrease her dependency on the husband." (Michel, 1967, p. 338)

The findings from research on Greek families were contrary to those observed in the studies of American and French families. Safilios-Rothschild (1967) found that the husband's participation in family decision making was higher in the absence of children, but was lowered when children were born. Safilios-Rothschild's (1967) explanation of the decrease in the Greek husband's participation in decision making, which begins with the

birth of children, was "... partially due to the fact that child-rearing decisions are predominantly feminine, with 62 percent of these decisions being made by a women." (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967, p. 346) She further contended that,

Generally, it seems that the presence of children gives the Greek wife a greater right to make and influence decisions, mainly those directly related to the children, and this right increases with the children's age. (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967, p. 346)

In a study of 394 Minnesota couples, 203 Catholic and 191 Lutheran, Corrales's (1975) results did not corroborate those of the Detroit or French family studies. There was no indication that influence on participation in decision making was affected "... in any substantial way by the changes involved in moving from one category to another in the early years of life cycle." (Corrales, 1975, p. 215)

Summary

Decision making is an essential component of family life. Because of the importance of family decision making and because of the changing nature of family decision-making roles, studies of various aspects of family decision making seem necessary (Jerjes, 1977, p. 146). The literature on family decision making indicates that socio-economic variables have received the primary emphasis.

The studies have investigated the effect of husband's occupational status, education of both husband and wife, employment status of the wife, husband's earnings, and stage of family life cycle on decision-making patterns.

According to Rodman (1972), the participation in decision making could be influenced by the interaction of the comparative resources of husband and wife, such as education, occupation and income, and the cultural or subcultural expectations of the participation in decision making. He further contended that "It should be kept in mind that cultural values may influence the definition of resources and their exchange value." (Rodman, 1972, p. 60)

Although wives' participation in family decision making has markedly increased, the equalitarian marriage as a norm may be, in reality, still a myth (Gillespie, 1971). The degree of equalitarianism in families continues to be an unresolved question.

CHAPTER III

METHODS OF PROCEDURE

Study Design

The self-report survey method was employed to gather data from 72 Korean home managers, residing in Salt Lake City, Utah. Telephone interviewing was used because of its advantages compared to other self-report methods. The major advantage of this method was that a large amount of travel time and expense which would have been required to visit the respondents' homes could be saved (Gorden, 1975). Another important advantage was that a higher response rate could be insured by telephone interviewing compared to a self-administered mail questionnaire. It was possible to complete data collection in a much shorter time period than it would have been if either a self-administered mail questionnaire or a personal interview had been used (Babbie, 1973).

Sufficiency of the Wife's Responses

Korean home managers were interviewed by telephone to test selected hypotheses concerning family decision-making patterns. The use of one spouse, usually the wife, as the sole respondent to questions about family decision-making patterns has been the subject of much debate in

family sociology literature. Some researchers contend that information supplied by the wife alone is adequate, while others contend that both husband and wife responses are required for a valid and reliable indication of family decision-making patterns.

In an attempt to test the reliability of using just one spouse's responses, Wolgast (1958) compared the answers of husbands with those of wives to questions about the relative influence in purchasing decisions. A high level of agreement between husbands' and wives' reports was found. She concluded that, "... husbands and wives reflect one another's judgments almost perfectly." (Wolgast, 1958, p. 153) Blood and Wolfe (1960) interviewed wives exclusively and justified this procedure by saying,

... There are undoubtedly individual cases where the husbands would have given a different picture from the one the wife gave us, but these differences tend to get lost in the shuffle when large numbers of cases are considered. (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, p. 6)

In studying marital adjustment, Burgess and Wallin (1953) utilized responses of both spouses and concluded that there were no significant differences between the two sexes. Heer's (1962) findings indicated that husbands and wives, while not having unanimous agreement, do have substantial agreement concerning relative influence in family decision making. Eighty-four percent of all husbands

and wives in his sample concurred in their perceptions of decision-making roles.

Haberman and Elison (1967) examined the agreement between spouses on reporting annual family income by interviewing both husband and wife. They found that 60 percent of the spouses reported the same annual family income.

Ferber (1955), in his study on the reliability of reporting relative influence, obtained independent assessment of relative influence in eight consumer decisions from the adult members of 237 families. Finding little correspondence between husbands' and wives' answers, he concluded that the reliability of ratings of relative influence of different family members obtained by direct questioning of one member of the family was highly limited.

Despite much criticism, the method of interviewing only wives has been utilized extensively. This may be partially explained by the convenience and the substantial savings which can be gained by testing only the wife (Scanzoni, 1965).

John Scanzoni (1965), commenting on the necessity to resolve the apparent confusion about the sufficiency of wives' responses, emphasized the necessity of empirical evidence on this problem:

... Reinforced by this evidence, future research designs could then continue to omit interviewing the husband, on the assumption that it is both

costly and unnecessary. On the other hand, if a series of such studies should reveal that husbands and wives do not agree in their perception of family structure and interaction, then the current practice of utilizing only one partner would be brought into serious question. (Scanzoni, 1965, p. 110)

Scanzoni conducted a study to compare husband-wife reports by interviewing both husbands and wives. The mean percentage of general agreement among all couples was 73 percent. As a result, he concluded that the sole use of wives' responses in family research could be valid and that the question of whether to interrogate only the wife or to test both spouses is related to the extent of tolerance of error in the research design. Scanzoni further suggested that the advantages which accrue from the larger sample usually obtained by testing only one spouse outweigh the disadvantages.

The issue of sufficiency of wife's responses in family research is still very much open. The literature reviewed indicated that the question of whether to interrogate the wife only or to test both spouses is related to the extent of tolerance of error in research design. However, when one weighs the advantages and the disadvantages, it would appear that questioning only the wife involves fewer and less serious drawbacks than are incurred if both spouses are tested. The differences in perception and reporting between husbands and wives on some issues would not be worth halving the sample.

Instrument

In order to test the hypotheses, a questionnaire was constructed and administered to a selected sample. The questionnaire was constructed with a view to the Korean culture because:

Use of the identical procedures in different societies for eliciting and quantifying data ("phenomenal identity") does not necessarily result in the measurement of the same variable ("conceptual equipment") since the stimuli (questions, tasks, items) used to elicit data may have different meanings in different societies. Similarly, the same manifest response may have different meanings in different societies. Thus, "phenomenal identity" in procedures does not necessarily produce "conceptual equivalence," in measurement. Conversely, a conceptually equivalent measure need not (and sometimes cannot) be phenomenally identical. (Straus, 1969, p. 233)

The questionnaire (see Appendix), which was administered by telephone interview, consisted of three parts.

Part I. An adaptation of Blood and Wolfe's family decision making measure

Part II. An adaptation of Heer's generalized question

Part III. Background information

Operationalization of Participation in Decision Making

Part I. Blood and Wolfe's Scale

The original Blood and Wolfe questionnaire consisted of eight decision-making areas ranging from those

traditionally belonging entirely to the husband to those belonging entirely to the wife. The eight areas included:

1. What job the husband should take
2. What car to get
3. Whether or not to buy life insurance
4. Where to go on a vacation
5. What house or apartment to take
6. Whether or not the wife should go to work or quit work
7. What doctor to have when someone was sick
8. How much money the family could afford to spend per week on food.

These questions were asked because (1) they are all relatively important, compared to deciding whether to go to a movie tonight; (2) they are questions which nearly all couples have to face; and (3) they range from typically masculine to typically feminine decisions, but affect the family as a whole (Blood and Wolfe, 1960).

Since publication of the Blood and Wolfe (1960) study of conjugal decision making, a number of investigators have utilized the same scale or an adaptation of it to assess family decision-making patterns. "In so far as replication is a desirable methodological strategy, and we unequivocally consider it so, the Blood and Wolfe tradition has been impressive in this regard." (Cromwell and Wieting, 1975, p. 139)

The Blood and Wolfe questions were modified for use among Koreans in the United States for the sake of conceptual equivalence. The question "Which kind of life insurance to get" was replaced by "Which kind of car insurance to get," since buying car insurance is more common than buying life insurance among Koreans. It has been a Korean taboo to think of death ahead of time, although the practical advantage of the protection given by life insurance is recognized. To enhance the construct validity of the questionnaire and in consideration of the situation of Korean families in the United States, eleven additional Likert-type questions and two open-ended questions were added to those modified Blood and Wolfe questions:

1. How to spend time together (what to do)
2. Which friends to see the most
3. How the money should be used (general family finance)
4. What to buy at the grocery store
5. How the housekeeping should be done
6. How to decorate the house
7. How many children to have
8. How children are to be raised
9. Clothing purchases for the wife
10. Clothing purchases for the husband
11. Clothing purchases for children.

The two open-ended questions, "What additional decisions do you feel you are in charge of?" and "What additional decisions do you feel your husband is in charge of?", were asked to see if there were any specific decisions which are usually made by either the wife or the husband.

The response categories consisted of "husband always," "husband more than wife," "husband and wife jointly," "wife more than husband," and "wife always." The "husband always" response was scored as 1 and "wife always" as 5. The sum of the responses to the eighteen items became the decision-making score, with a possible range of 18 to 90, with 54 corresponding to a perfectly egalitarian decision-making structure.

Part II. Heer's Generalized Question

One of the main criticisms of the Blood and Wolfe questionnaire was made by Safilios-Rothschild.

... All decisions are given equal weight even though not all decisions have "objectively" the same degree of importance for the entire life of the family. Further, some decisions are made less frequently than others. In addition, some decisions are "important" and frequent, others frequent but not "important," others "important" and not frequent, and still others not important and not frequent. (Safilios-Rothschild, 1969, pp. 297-298)

She also mentioned the multidimensionality of some of the decision-making areas. As an alternative to assigning weights to specified areas of decision making, Heer (1962) developed a generalized question, "When there is a really

important decision on which you two are likely to disagree, who really wins out?" The answers for the question were (1) Husband usually wins out, (2) Neither spouse usually wins out, and (3) Wife usually wins out. Heer's rationale for developing the question was:

Asking the question in such a generalized form avoids the problem of determining appropriate weights for separate areas of decision making. It also avoids the possibility that the areas of specific inquiry may not be relevant to the areas of decision making which are crucial for a particular family. Instead, it substitutes an intuitive weighting of decision-making areas in terms of their subjective importance to respondents. (Heer, 1962, p. 67)

Heer's generalized question was included as Part II of the questionnaire. It was used to determine whether or not a strong tendency still exists in the families studied for husbands to make most of the really important decisions. In the answer categories, the phrase "wins out" was eliminated to avoid relating this study to the power structure within the family.

Part III. Background Information

Part III of the questionnaire consisted of demographic variables which were selected to relate to the degree of participation in family decision making by home managers. Previous research had indicated that family decision-making patterns were directly related to the socioeconomic status of the respondents, the level of education and employment status of both husband and wife,

and stage of the family life cycle. Consequently, this information was gathered from the women interviewed.

Respondents were married either to Korean husbands or to American husbands. Considering the cultural contrast, significant differences were expected in family decision-making patterns between these two groups. Thus, the husband's nationality was one of the important demographic questions for this study. Other demographic information was asked, such as the length of stay in the United States, the place where the respondents had spent most of their lives while living in Korea, religion of both husband and wife, and whether they are planning to return to Korea or become permanent residents of the United States.

Translation

The questionnaire was translated into Korean by the researcher. Since the instrument was designed specifically for the Korean family residing in the United States, most of the questions could be translated into Korean with little difficulty. One problem encountered was selecting the Korean term which would best reflect the meaning and nuances of the English version. Another problem was choosing comparatively easy wording that would still deliver the concepts in the questions. Since it was expected that the educational level of the respondents would be varied, complicated wording had to be avoided.

Pretest

The questionnaire was pretested with five Korean home managers residing in Logan, Utah. Of the five home managers, four were married to Korean husbands and one was married to an American husband. The respondents with a lower education had a difficult time understanding the questionnaire. As a result, easier wording was employed in the process of translation into Korean. One of the respondents was suspicious as to why the researcher was interested in details concerning family decision-making patterns and demographic information, despite the researcher's explanation of the interview's purpose. Therefore, a more definite and clear statement of the purpose of the study and the researcher's position was employed in the telephone interview.

Two substantive changes were made after the pretest. In Part I the question, "Which friends to see the most," was eliminated. According to Korean custom, it is not appropriate to ask about a "family" friend. Traditionally, husbands have men's gatherings without their wives. Similarly, husbands feel out-of-place at women's gatherings. Also, for husbands and wives to share conversation and amusement at the same place has been traditionally discouraged.

Heer's generalization question in Part II, "When there is a really important decision on which you two are

likely to disagree, who usually ends up making the decision?", was considered to be too vague. Since the respondents had difficulty defining "a really important decision," four examples—moving to another place, buying a home, moving to the United States, and whether the wife is going to have a job or not—were chosen to help them define the meaning.

Sample

The study sample consisted of 72 Korean home managers living in Salt Lake City, Utah. Using the 1976 Directory of the Korean-American Society in Utah, issued by the Utah Korean-American Society, all the Korean home managers living in Salt Lake City were contacted by telephone to confirm the subjects' continued residence and their telephone numbers. All of the home managers who were married and living with their husbands and who had telephones were selected as respondents. During the initial contact, the women whose last names were not Korean were asked their husbands' nationality. Determination of the husband's nationality was done during the initial contact to avoid any bias incurred by the question at the time of the interview. Of 72 subjects, 46 home managers were married to Korean husbands and 26 were married to American husbands.

Collection of Data

The researcher interviewed all 72 subjects by telephone within a four-day period. Special effort was made to finish the interviewing within the shortest time period possible to minimize exchange of information about the survey among the respondents. Since the husband's nationality had already been obtained, this question was not asked during the interview. Most of the respondents willingly cooperated in answering the questions. The length of time per interview ranged from 5 to 45 minutes. The average time for an interview was approximately 7-8 minutes. All home managers listed in the 1976 Directory of the Korean-American Society in Utah were interviewed. All of the data gathered were usable.

Statistics

The statistics were computed with the aid of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Nie et al., 1975). The hypothesized relationships were measured by using (1) crosstabulations for nominal or ordinal data, such as husband's nationality, wife's working status, or husband's job, and (2) the Pearson correlation coefficients for interval data, such as length of stay in the United States, length of marriage, number of years of formal education, years of difference in education between husband and wife, and age of wife.

For crosstabulation analyses, significance was measured by chi-square and association by gamma.

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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study investigated the degree of participation in family decision making among Korean home managers residing in Salt Lake City, Utah. Participation in decision making was studied with respect to various background characteristics selected on the basis of previous research findings. These variables included length of stay in the United States, husband's nationality, husband's occupational status, level of education of both husband and wife, the difference in education between husband and wife, wife's employment status, and the stage of the family life cycle.

Decision-Making Score

Participation in family decision making was measured by totalling responses to eighteen decision-making questions. The response categories for each decision consisted of (1) husband always, (2) husband more than wife, (3) husband and wife jointly, (4) wife more than husband, and (5) wife always. The "husband always" response was scored as 1 and "wife always" as 5. The sum of the responses to the eighteen items formed the decision-making score, ranging from 18 to 90 with 54 corresponding to a perfectly egalitarian decision-making structure.

Table 1 shows the relationships between each decision and the decision-making score. As indicated in the table, decisions regarding husband's job, car insurance, wife's job, grocery shopping, and number of children did not have much correlation with the decision-making score. They were, therefore, dropped from the final decision-making score.

Respondent Characteristics

The subjects for the research were 72 Korean home managers living in Salt Lake City, Utah, constituting all Korean housewives who were listed in the 1976 Directory of the Korean-American Society. The background characteristics of the respondents are shown in Tables 2 and 3.

As can be seen in Panel A of Table 2, almost all the respondents (94 percent) had lived most of their life in an urban setting, which usually provides access to Western culture. Thus, they were not from rural villages in Korea where tradition would delegate all important decisions to the husband.

Almost half the respondents (47 percent) were not affiliated with any religion (Panel B of Table 2). Among those who had a religious affiliation, 87 percent were Christian and the remainder were Buddhist. Only a little over one-fourth (27 percent) of the Christians were Mormons (members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). The large proportion of respondents with no

TABLE 1
ITEM ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION
IN DECISION MAKING^a

Item	Decision regarding	Correlation with decision-making score
1	Decoration of house	.57
2	Children's clothing	.56
3	Husband's clothing	.51
4	Home or apartment	.48
5	Spending time	.47
6	General family finance	.40
7	Weekly food money	.37
8	Housekeeping	.36
9	Doctor	.36
10	Wife's clothing	.35
11	Child rearing	.32
12	Place for vacation	.28
13	Car insurance	.13*
14	Car	.12**
15	Wife's job	.11*
16	Grocery shopping	.08*
17	Husband's job	.01*
18	Number of children	.00*

^aBased on N=72 respondents.

*Not included in the final decision-making score.

**This was overlooked when dropping the decisions which did not have much correlation with the decision-making score.

TABLE 2

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN HOME
MANAGERS: NONINTERVAL MEASURES

Variable	Percentage
<u>A. Where Lived the Longest</u>	
Urban	94%
Rural	6
Total	<u>100%</u>
(N)	(72)
<u>B. Religion</u>	
Protestant	26%
LDS	13
Catholic	7
Buddhism	7
None	47
Total	<u>100%</u>
(N)	(72)
<u>C. Husband's Nationality</u>	
Korean	64%
American	36
Total	<u>100%</u>
(N)	(72)
<u>D. Number of Children</u>	
None	18%
One	32
Two	31
Three or more	19
Total	<u>100%</u>
(N)	(72)
<u>E. Has Child Under Age 4</u>	
Yes	51%
No	49
Total	<u>100%</u>
(N)	(72)

TABLE 2—Continued

Variable	Percentage	
F. <u>Working Outside Home</u>		
All respondents:		
Yes	50%	
No	50	
Total	100%	
(N)	(72)	
Respondents married to American males:		
Yes	58%	
No	42	
Total	100%	
(N)	(72)	
G. <u>Husband's Occupation*</u>		
All respondents:		
Professionals	36%	
Workers	39	
Skilled		14
Unskilled		25
Students	25	
Total	100%	
(N)	(72)	
Respondent married to American males:		
Professionals	31	
Workers	69	
Skilled		31
Unskilled		38
Students	0	
Total	100%	
(N)	(72)	
H. <u>Intend to Return to Korea</u>		
Yes	21%	
No	68	
Don't know	11	
Total	100%	
(N)	(72)	

*Based on the U.S. census classification.

TABLE 3

LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR RESPONDENTS AND
HUSBANDS BY HUSBAND'S NATIONALITY

Level of Education	All Respondents (Wives)			Husbands of Respondents		
	Total	American Husbands	Korean Husbands	Total	American Husbands	Korean Husbands
Elementary or less	13%	34%	0%	0%	0%	0%
High School	29	54	15	19	54	0
College	47	8	70	38	38	37
Graduate School	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>63</u>
Total (N)	100% (72)	100% (26)	100% (46)	100% (72)	100% (26)	100% (46)

religious preference is surprising and again indicates that they may be much more modern than Korean housewives in general. Even among those who are affiliated with a religion, it is surprising to find so many Christians. One might expect Christians to allocate more decision making to the wife than would Buddhists.

According to Panel C of Table 2, 64 percent of the respondents were married to Korean husbands and 36 percent were married to American husbands. When we compare the traditional Korean culture with the American, we might assume that Korean women would increase their participation in decision making considerably by marrying American husbands.

As Panel D of Table 2 indicated, most of the respondents (82 percent) had at least one child, while 18 percent of the respondents were childless. Among those respondents who had at least one child, 39 percent had one, 37 percent had two, and 24 percent had three or more children. Women might be expected to increase their involvement in child rearing when they have more children. Therefore, it is likely that they would have more opportunity for making decisions in regard to child rearing, but in general their participation in making other decisions would be lowered because of their increased dependency on their husbands.

Among those who have at least one child, nearly half the respondents (51 percent) had a child under age 4 (Panel E of Table 2). According to the literature reviewed, American and French women with a preschool-aged child tended to allow their husbands to make more decisions than those who do not have a preschool child. Thus, one might predict that this would also be the case among Korean families living in the United States.

As Panel F of Table 2 showed that out of 72 respondents, 36 (50 percent) were employed outside the home, while the other half were full-time home managers. Since monetary contribution has been considered to be one of the major factors which determine the degree of participation in decision making among family members, it would be plausible to assume that the gainfully employed home managers would be more active in family decision making than those who were not employed.

As indicated in Panel G of Table 2, the husband's occupation was separated into three categories: (1) professionals (accountants, computer specialists, professors, lawyers, physicians, army officers, and business managers), (2) workers (skilled workers—electricians, mechanics, printing pressers and clerical personnel; unskilled workers—mining helpers, machine operators, assemblers, welders, soldiers, and other manual laborers), and (3) students. As shown in the table, 61 percent were

either professionals or students and the rest of them, 39 percent, were in the worker category. It should be noted that all of those in the student category were Korean husbands. Of the American husbands, approximately 69 percent were in the worker category, with more engaged in unskilled occupations than skilled. Thirty-one percent of the American husbands were professionals. We could say that this is a very special group in which the middle-class occupations are scarce.

According to Panel H of Table 2, the majority of the respondents (68 percent) intended to stay in the United States as permanent residents. Twenty-one percent intended to return to Korea, and the remainder (11 percent) did not know whether or not they were going to return to Korea. Most of those who intended to return to Korea were students. It was expected that those who intended to stay in the United States would be more willing to adopt the American way of life. Thus, those who intended to stay should have been inclined to give women more opportunity for making decisions in the family.

Table 3 shows a relatively high level of education for both respondents and their husbands. Among the women, 87 percent had at least a high school education, 58 percent were college graduates and 11 percent had some graduate-level education. On the other hand, the educational level of their husbands was even higher. All

of the husbands had at least a high school diploma. Surprisingly, almost half of the husbands, 43 percent, had achieved either a master's or Ph.D. degree. When comparing the educational level of women married to Korean men with that of women with American husbands, a much lower educational level was found among the women married to American men. All the respondents who had less than an elementary education, the lowest level of education for wives, were married to American men. The same tendency was found when the educational level of the Korean husbands and the American husbands was compared. The American husbands had obtained a much lower level of education: All the husbands who had only a high school education, the lowest level of education for husbands, were American. However, the educational level of all our respondents and their husbands was much higher than for Koreans in general.

The length of the respondents' stay in the United States varied from 3 months up to more than 10 years. The average length of stay was 5.6 years (Table 4). This means that many respondents had had time to adjust to American culture and to become acculturated to a certain extent. One might assume that an increased length of stay in the United States would result in more participation in family decision making by the wives.

TABLE 4
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN
HOME MANAGERS: INTERVAL MEASURES^a

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Length of Stay in the U.S. (years)	5.60	3.98
Length of Marriage (years)	8.88	6.75
Age (years)	33.90	7.40

^aBased on N=72 respondents

Table 4 also shows the average length of marriage of the respondents to be 8.88 years. Thus, one would expect the family decision-making pattern of the respondents, on the whole, to have been established and stabilized. One might also expect the wives to have acquired competency and confidence in family decision making. This acquired competency should have led them to participate actively in decision making.

The age of the respondents ranged from 22 to over 60 years old, with a mean age of 33.9 years (Table 4). The varied ages may have influenced different patterns of family decision making.

In sum, our respondents were not at all the traditional Koreans one might expect. They had grown up in urban areas, most of them in Seoul and Pusan, which are much larger than Salt Lake City. They exhibited a thoroughly modern orientation in that half claim no religion and the remainder are primarily Christian rather than Buddhist. Another sign of modernity is that half of the wives were working. This would not have been approved by traditional Korean culture.

It appears that we had three types of family situations. First, over one-third of our respondents were married to professionals. These women themselves were highly educated (Table 5). They were less likely to hold a job than the wives of workers, and it may be assumed that those who held a job were working out of interest rather than economic necessity. These professional families have presumably been attracted to the United States by opportunities commensurate with their desired life style and have settled here permanently. They could be expected to exhibit a style of family decision making much like the American upper-middle classes.

Another clearly identifiable group was the wives of students, one-fourth of the sample. This was the younger group which intends to return to Korea. One could expect Korean cultural influences to be stronger among this

TABLE 5
WIFE'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY THE
HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Husband's Occupational Status	Wife's Educational Level				Total
	Elementary or less	High School	College	Graduate School	
Professionals	-	8	15	5	28
Workers	9	12	6	1	27
Students	-	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>17</u>
Total	9	21	34	8	72

group. Furthermore, in spite of their very high education (Table 5), they may have been totally dependent on their husbands' income—in most of the cases, either an assistantship or part-time or summer jobs—due to the legal restrictions on the student wife's employment (Table 6). Therefore, we might not expect, among students' wives, as much participation in decision making as among the professionals. However, considering the high level of education of the wives and their husbands, and their young ages, we still could expect, among this group, a more egalitarian decision-making pattern than traditional roles would suggest.

TABLE 6
WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY THE
HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Husband's Occupational Status	Wife's Employment Status		Total
	Working	Nonworking	
Professionals	11	17	28
Workers	22	5	27
Students	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>
Total	36	36	72

Finally, the third group of respondents, 36 percent, consisted of those married to Americans. These husbands were usually workers, often in the lower-middle class (Panel G of Table 2). One could guess that many had met their wives when they were soldiers in Korea. In these families, we would expect Korean culture to have less effect, but we might expect more traditional role expectations from the American men simply because they represent a lower socioeconomic strata. We could also expect economic pressures to exert an influence here with some need for wives to work to contribute to the family income (Panel F of Table 2). However, when we think of their low education (Table 3), we could imagine that their economic contribution to the family would not be great. Another important factor influencing the decision-making pattern in this group could have been the language barrier. The lack of fluency in English and of foreign customs could have prevented them from active participation in family decision making. Therefore, we might expect that their degree of participation in decision making would be much lower than that of American wives in general, although the degree might not be lower than that of wives married to Koreans.

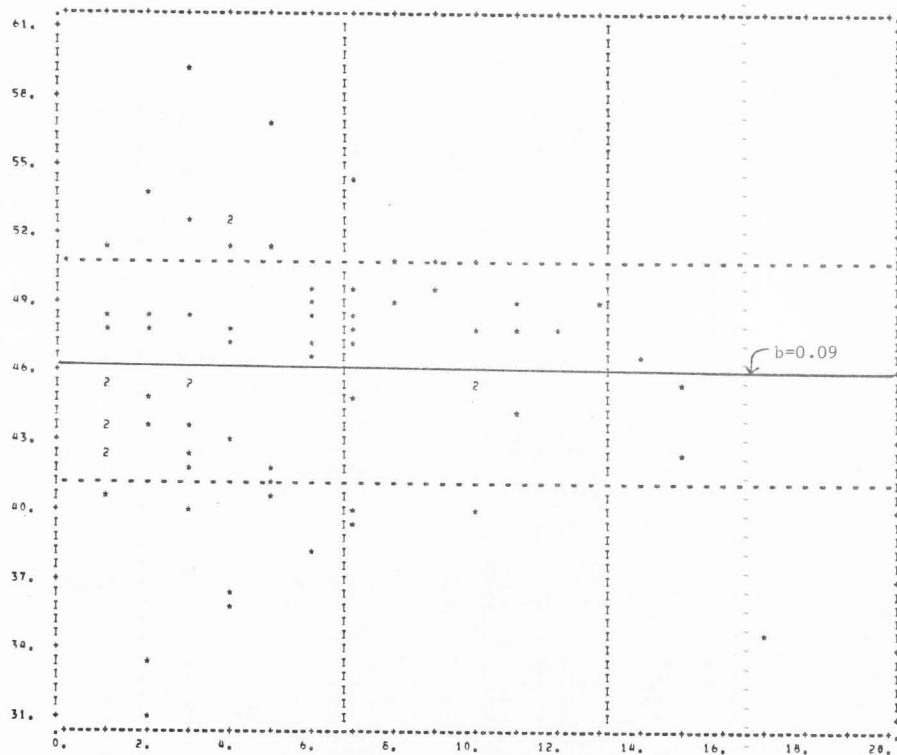
Length of Stay in the United
States and Participation in
Decision Making (Hypothe-
sis 1)

It was hypothesized that the longer the wife had been in the United States, the more she participated in family decision making. It was assumed that the attitudes of Korean home managers who had been accustomed to the patriarchal tradition of family organization would be gradually changed to comparatively more equalitarian relationships as they were exposed to American culture. It was argued that in the United States women had more say in the family than in Korea, and as Korean wives became adjusted to the American way of thinking, the decision-making pattern in the family would have been influenced by the change of attitudes. Thus, home managers who had been in the United States longer should participate more in family decision making.

This hypothesis was not supported. As shown in Figure 1, no relationship was found between length of stay in the United States and participation in family decision making. The best fitting line in the scattergram has a slope of almost zero ($b=0.09$), indicating no change over time.

Comparing the average length of stay in the United States (5.6 years) with length of marriage (8.88 years), there were 3.28 years of difference between the two

Decision-
making
score



Length of
stay in
the U.S.
(years)

Figure 1. Scattergram of participation in family decision-making by length of stay in the United States

variables (Table 4). Thus, respondents averaged 3 years of marriage before they came to the United States. Since the pattern of family decision making might already have been established, the pattern might not easily have been affected even by moving to the United States. Also, since most of our respondents had been raised in urban areas, the move to Salt Lake City may not have made a significant change in the pattern.

Korean Husbands vs. American
Husbands and Participation
in Decision Making (Hypothe-
sis 2)

It was also hypothesized that women married to American husbands participated more in family decision making than those married to Korean husbands. The comparison of the cultures of the United States and Korea indicated contrasting patterns of relationship between husbands and wives. In Korea, the relationship is much more patriarchal, and the wife's position is comparatively lower than it is in the United States. Since this is directly related to the decision-making pattern in the family, it was assumed that the women married to Korean husbands would participate less in family decision making than those married to American husbands.

This hypothesis was also not supported (Table 7). The only noteworthy difference was a slight trend for those with Korean husbands to more often show low

TABLE 7
WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING BY
HUSBAND'S NATIONALITY
(IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Husband's Nationality	
	Korean	American
Low	37.0	26.9
Medium	26.0	34.6
High	37.0	38.5
Total (%)	100.0	100.0
(N)	(46)	(26)

$\chi^2=0.93$, d.f.=2, Not significant, Gamma=.109

participation in decision making. Taken together with our findings from Hypothesis 1, it appears that the anticipated changes towards equalitarian decision making with increased contact with Americans are not apparent. This may reflect the fact that our respondents appear to be a rather select set of comparatively modernized Koreans from urban areas, as noted in our interpretation of their background characteristics. Also, this may be due to the comparatively lower occupational and educational status of the American husbands than the Korean husbands. The difference in decision-making patterns between the

two groups might have been reduced due to the higher social status of the Korean husbands and the comparatively lower social status of the American husbands.

Husband's Occupational
Status and Partici-
pation in Decision
Making (Hypothesis 3)

It was hypothesized that the higher the husband's occupational status, the less the wife participates in family decision making. It was argued that as the occupational status increased for husbands, they would be equipped with more knowledge and better skills and, therefore, would be recognized to be the qualified decision maker by both husband and wife. As a result, the wives should become more passive in family decision making and relegate more decisions to the hands of their husbands.

To test this hypothesis, the husband's occupational status was divided into three categories: professionals, workers, and students. As noted earlier, there were few middle-class occupations represented.

As Table 8 indicates, these results were opposite to our expectations. When we compared professionals with workers, we found the wives of professionals twice as likely to show high participation in family decision making. The wives of students showed relatively higher decision-making scores than those of workers, but lower

TABLE 8
WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING
BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
(IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Husband's Occupational Status		
	Professionals	Workers	Students
Low	21.4	51.9	23.5
Medium	28.6	22.2	41.2
High	<u>50.0</u>	<u>25.9</u>	<u>35.3</u>
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(28)	(27)	(17)

$\chi^2=7.90$, d.f.=4, Significance level=.10

than those of professionals. In view of the fact that most husbands in the student group were engaged in graduate work, pursuing either master's or Ph.D. degrees, it could be inferred that the student group would likely have the attitude of professionals rather than that of workers. The above relationships might be further justified by the considerably higher educational levels of wives of both professionals and students than those of the worker group.

This unexpected positive relationship between the wife's participation in family decision making and her

husband's occupational status differs strikingly from findings for American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), French (Michel, 1967), and German (Lamouse, 1969) families, where a negative relationship was found. On the other hand, it agrees with findings for Greek (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967), Mexican (Cromwell et al., 1973) and American families (Marotz, 1972). Marotz (1972) suggested that white-collar males have more commitment to careers, consequently leaving the household decisions to their wives. Cromwell et al. (1973) and Safilios-Rothschild (1967) suggested that husbands tended to have more egalitarian attitudes toward family decision making as their occupational status increases in the less industrialized countries. This could be applied to our Korean families. It is probable that our positive relationship would prove to be statistically significant if we had had more respondents.

Husband's Education and
Participation in Decision
Making (Hypothesis 4)

It was hypothesized that women whose husbands have a high level of education participate more in family decision making than those whose husbands have a low level of education. Upon reviewing the family decision-making literature in Chapter II, education was found to be an influential factor affecting the family decision

making patterns. It was noted that the husband's educational achievement would lead the husband to be more liberal and therefore more democratic in family decision making in the developing countries.

In order to test the hypothesis, husband's education was broken into three different levels: 0-15 years, 16-18 years, 19 years or more of education. As Table 9 indicates, we did not find such a unidirectional relationship. Instead, we found a U-shaped curve with wives having high participation when the husband had either a very high or a low level of education. Wives had the least say when the husband had 16-18 years of education, roughly equivalent to a bachelor's or master's degree. This group showed less participation than the group whose husbands were still students. This result agrees with the findings of American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960) and West German (König, 1957) family studies, which showed that husband's influence on decision making was low when the husband's education was low, reached its peak with a middle rank in education, and began to decrease in the highest levels of education. Such a relationship might be due to the fact that the husband's capability for decision making would be gradually recognized by both husband and wife as the husband's education increases. However, when the husband's education reaches its peak, the husband would become more exposed to the egalitarian

TABLE 9
WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING
BY HUSBAND'S EDUCATION
(IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	No. of Years of Husband's Education			Husband Student
	0-15	16-18	19 or more	
Low	31.8	40.7	26.1	23.5
Medium	27.3	33.3	26.1	41.2
High	40.9	25.9	47.8	35.3
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(22)	(27)	(23)	(17)

$$\chi^2=2.77, \text{ d.f.}=4, \text{ Gamma}=0.08, \text{ Pearson's } r=0.14$$

way of thinking and would therefore give more opportunity for the wife to make decisions rather than dominating the family decision makings.

Wife's Education and Participation in Decision Making (Hypothesis 5)

It was hypothesized that women with a high level of education participate more in family decision making than those with a low level of education. It was assumed that increased education would increase the wife's qualifications for making decisions in the family. The knowledge obtained from education should give wives

confidence in making decisions and, therefore, encourage them to participate more actively in family decision making.

This hypothesis was not supported (Table 10). There was a trend in the expected direction, but it did not reach statistical significance. The hypothesis might be significant statistically if the number of respondents had been larger.

TABLE 10
WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING
BY WIFE'S EDUCATION (IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Number of Years of Wife's Education	
	0-12	13 or more
Low	36.7	31.0
Medium	30.0	28.5
High	<u>33.3</u>	<u>40.5</u>
Total (%)	100.0	100.0
(N)	(30)	(42)

$X^2=0.42$, d.f.=2, Not significant, Gamma=0.12,
Pearson's $r=0.18$

While education brings the wife more opportunity to realize herself as an individual who has equal rights, it also helps her acquire more of the knowledge and skills

required in family decision making. Eventually, she is recognized as a capable decision maker in the home by both husband and herself. As stated by Safilios-Rothschild (1967), the resources that the wife acquires through education might prove her abilities in such a way that even traditionally minded husbands must accept her competence.

Difference of Education
between Husband and Wife
and Participation in
Decision Making
(Hypothesis 6)

It was hypothesized that the more the husband's education exceeds that of the wife, the less the wife's share in family decision making would be. It was contended that education would enable a partner to bring greater resources to the decision-making arena. Blood and Wolfe (1960) argued that "school trains people in verbal skills and knowledge which facilitate decision making quite directly." (p. 37) As a result, a partner who obtained more education would become a more competent decision maker.

This hypothesis was not supported (Table 11). There was no conspicuous relationship between wife's participation in family decision making and the educational differences of husband from his wife among the families under study. This result does not agree with the previous

TABLE 11

WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING BY
DIFFERENCE OF EDUCATION BETWEEN HUSBAND
AND WIFE (IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Difference in Education between Husband and Wife		
	-1 thru 2 yrs	3-4	5-16
Low	33.4	37.5	28.6
Medium	29.6	25.0	33.3
High	<u>37.0</u>	<u>37.5</u>	<u>38.1</u>
Total (%) (N)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (24)	100.0 (21)

$\chi^2=0.54$, d.f.=4, Not significant, Gamma=0.03,
Pearson's $r=-0.09$

findings by Blood and Wolfe (1960) and Michel (1967), in that when the husband had a higher education than the wife, he increased his participation in decision making.

Wife's Employment Status
and Participation in
Decision Making
(Hypothesis 7)

It was hypothesized that women who work outside the home participate more in family decision making than those who do not. It was assumed that the wife's having a job would bring a drastic change in the family decision-making pattern. Employment would provide the wife with

opportunities for acquiring more knowledge and experience for decision making and, at the same time, she would be contributing financially to the family. As was contended by Hoffman (1960), the working wife would have a new image of her own worth owing to her monetary contribution and thus become more assertive in family decision making. Furthermore, she should have more resources and qualifications for making decisions in the family.

As indicated in Table 12, we found, on the other hand, a strong inverse relationship between employment of the wife and her participation in family decision making. Surprisingly, working wives showed considerably less participation in decision making compared to non-working wives! This result is contrary to the findings of many previous studies with American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), French (Michel, 1967), Greek (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967), and German (Lamouse, 1969) families. All of these studies showed that the wife's gainful employment facilitated her participation in family decision making. However, one study done with American families by Middleton and Putney (1960) indicated the same finding as those for the Korean families in our study. An explanation given by Middleton and Putney (1960) for their unexpected results was that "husbands whose wives do not work tend to leave minor family decisions largely to the wife."

TABLE 12

WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING BY
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WIFE (IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Employment Status of Wife	
	Working	Nonworking
Low	47.2	19.4
Medium	22.2	36.1
High	30.6	44.5
Total (%)	100.0	100.0
(N)	(36)	(36)

$\chi^2=6.28$, d.f.=2, Significance level=0.04,
Gamma=0.38

(Middleton and Putney, 1960, p. 609) Husbands whose wives work may find it necessary to share in making more household decisions.

Another reason for this reversed relationship could be the increased opportunity for the wife who is home full time to make decisions in the family. A further reason could be the different role expectations in the oriental family, where getting a job is not regarded as an appropriate role for women and is not given much value. On the other hand, the wife's total devotion to the family has been traditionally applauded as a virtue. In carrying out the expected role, the woman could have

a more stable position in the family and be given more chances to make family decisions. We should note here that many of the wives, especially those in lower-income families, have to work to relieve the severe economic constraint. We must recognize the big difference between those who have to work and those who want to work. When we compared the wife's working status between the professionals and the workers, there were more working wives in the workers' group than the professionals (Table 6). Moreover, since most of the working wives in the workers' group had lower educations and were engaged in unskilled occupations, working may not help them increase their participation in family decision making. A third possible reason could be "motivational withdrawal," which, according to Emerson (1962), is removing oneself from an unsatisfactory relationship. Since the wife's having a job could be a threat to the husband's traditionally defined position in the home and thus entail the possibility of undesirable relationship between husband and wife, the wife would intentionally try to withdraw herself from active participation in family decision making and maintain the traditionally expected and patterned marriage relationship. It could also be speculated that husbands who have a low-status occupation may dominate in the home to compensate for lack of status in the labor market.

Family Life Cycle and Par-
ticipation in Decision
Making (Hypothesis 8)

It was hypothesized that women who have preschool-age children participate the least in family decision making. It was assumed that women who have a child or children under 4 years old would have to be involved in child rearing at home to a great extent. According to Blood and Wolfe (1960), with the birth of a child many women stop working until the child goes to school. During this stage women become more dependent upon their husbands economically, socially, and emotionally. Therefore, they may leave many decisions in the hands of their husbands.

As indicated in Table 13, we did find a tendency in the predicted direction. It is expected that the relationship might have become statistically significant if we had had more respondents.

Previous studies with American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Gillespie, 1971) and French (Michel, 1967) families also contended that the family life stage where there were preschool children in the home brought about a decrease in the wife's participation in family decision making. We found a similar trend in the Korean families. On the other hand, among Greek families the inverse relationship was found by Safilios-Rothschild (1967). The wife's participation in family decision making was

TABLE 13

WIFE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING BY
FAMILY LIFE CYCLE (IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Age of Children (Years)	
	Less than 4	More than 4
Low	42.9	24.3
Medium	22.8	35.2
High	34.3	40.5
Total (%)	100.0	100.0
(N)	(35)	(37)

$$X^2=2.97, \text{ d.f.}=2, \text{ Gamma}=0.23$$

lower in the absence of children, but was increased when children were born. Data, collected by Tallman and Marotz on Minnesota families and analyzed by Corrales (1975), revealed no relationship between participation in decision making and family life cycle.

General Pattern in Family
Decision Making (Hypothesis 9)

It was hypothesized that there still exists a strong tendency in most families for husbands to make most of the really important decisions. It was assumed that although the decision-making pattern is changing rapidly from a traditional form to a democratic form, the majority of

families would practice the traditional pattern of decision making at home.

As shown in Table 14, 43 percent of the respondents indicated that the really important decisions were made by the husband. It is noticeable, though, that joint decision making is practiced by 42 percent of the respondents. Furthermore, 15 percent of the respondents answered that the really important decisions were made by the wife. These results imply that the family decision-making pattern is in the process of transition from a traditional form to a much more democratic one among Korean families. From comments made by several subjects during the interview, it was apparent that most of the respondents hold the attitude that joint decision making is an ideal one and believe that happiness exists in the home only when the husband and the wife reach an agreement on the final decisions. For many, the 43 percent of families where husbands make the important decisions and the 15 percent where wives make the important decisions, this remains a case of believing one thing and doing another. It will take time to reduce this difference.

Table 15 shows the relationship between the decision-making score and the responses to "Who makes the really important decisions?" Women who had low decision-making scores tended to let the husband make the really important decisions. On the other hand, women who had a high

TABLE 14
WHO MAKES THE REALLY IMPORTANT DECISIONS?

Response	Percentage
Husband	43%
Joint Decision Making or Depends on the Case	42
Wife	15
Total (%) (N)	100% (72)

TABLE 15
DECISION-MAKING SCORE BY WIFE'S RESPONSE
TO "WHO MAKES THE REALLY IMPORTANT
DECISIONS" (IN PERCENTAGE)

Participation in Decision Making	Who Makes the Really Important Decisions?		
	Husband	Joint	Wife
Low	41.9	35.5	0.0
Medium	32.3	25.8	30.0
High	25.8	38.7	70.0
Total (%) (N)	100.0 (31)	100.0 (31)	100.0 (10)

$X^2=8.25$, d.f.=4, Significance level=0.08,
Gamma=0.40

decision-making score also participated actively in making the really important decisions in the family. Thus, as expected, the woman who is active in family decision making is more likely to be involved in making the relatively important family decisions.

Summary

The decision-making pattern among Korean families for this specific study turned out to be affected by various factors in a somewhat different way from those of studies previously done in many different countries. First of all, the husband's occupational status had a positive relationship with the wife's participation in decision making rather than the anticipated negative relationship. When we compare professionals with workers, the wives of professionals showed almost twice as much participation in family decision making as that of workers. The relationship of the husband's education with the wife's participation in decision making turned out to be a U-shaped curve, with high participation when the husband was either very highly educated or poorly educated. Unexpectedly, the wife's education did not have a statistical significance large enough to influence her participation in decision making. The difference in education between the spouses also did not show any particular significance to the wife's participation.

It is surprising that a strong inverse relationship between employment of the wife and her participation in family decision making was revealed among Korean families. This result is contrary to the findings of most of the previous research done in various cultures.

Although 43 percent of the respondents indicated that the really important decisions were made by the husband, it is noticeable that the rest of the families either were practicing joint decision making or the important decisions were made by the wife. This is evidence that the transition in the family decision-making pattern from a traditional to an egalitarian form has been launched among Korean families in the United States.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study investigated the relationship between participation in family decision making among Korean home managers and selected background variables. Nine hypotheses based on previous findings from research done in a variety of countries were studied. The background variables included length of stay in the United States, husband's nationality, husband's occupational status, levels of education of both husband and wife, difference in education between husband and wife, wife's employment status, and stage in family life cycle.

Telephone interviewing was employed to test the hypotheses. The questionnaire was constructed with consideration of the Korean culture and translated into Korean by the researcher. The researcher interviewed by telephone all 72 subjects within a four-day period, resulting in a 100-percent response rate. All of the data gathered were usable.

The hypothesized relationships were measured by using crosstabulations for nominal or ordinal data and Pearson correlation coefficients for interval data. For crosstabulation analysis, significance was measured by chi-square and association by gamma.

Participation in family decision making was measured by a decision-making score constructed by totalling responses to eighteen decision-making questions. The decision-making score ranged from 18, "Husband always," to 90, "Wife always," with 54 corresponding to a perfectly egalitarian decision-making structure.

Seventy-two Korean home managers residing in Salt Lake City, Utah, were studied. Almost all the respondents originally came from an urban area in Korea. While nearly half of the respondents did not have any religious affiliation, among those who had a religion, 87 percent were Christian. Sixty-four percent were married to Korean husbands and 36 percent to American husbands. Most of the respondents had at least one child, and among them 51 percent had a child or children of preschool age. Half, 36 respondents, were gainfully employed outside the home. This was a very special group whose occupations were either professional or worker, and the upper-middle class occupations were almost nonexistent. Also, the levels of education of both husbands and wives were higher than those of Koreans in general. While 58 percent of the respondents had obtained either a bachelor's or master's degree, surprisingly enough, almost half of the husbands (43 percent) had achieved either a master's or Ph.D. degree. The average length of stay in the United States was 5.6 years. The average age of the respondents was 33.9 years,

and the respondents' average length of marriage was 8.88 years.

On the whole, the findings were quite unexpected. The factors influencing participation in decision making for Korean home managers appear somewhat different from those found by previous researchers. Because of the small number of respondents ($N=72$), only one of the findings (Hypothesis 7) reached statistical significance, and it was the opposite direction from that hypothesized. However, five of our nine hypotheses yielded interesting results that permit important statements concerning our Korean home managers in Salt Lake City. One must, of course, be cautious of generalizing from these few cases to Korean home managers in general.

Hypothesis 1 was that the longer the wife had been in the United States, the more she would participate in family decision making. The hypothesis was not supported. Since respondents averaged three years of married life before coming to the United States, the family decision-making pattern established during those years might not have been altered even by moving to the United States. Also, since most of our respondents had grown up in urban areas, mainly in Seoul or Pusan, which are much larger than Salt Lake City, a significant change in decision-making pattern might not have occurred when they moved from Korea to the United States.

Hypothesis 2 was that women married to American husbands would participate more in family decision making than those married to Korean husbands. This also was not supported. There was, however, a slight trend for those with American husbands to not be very low on participation. This result might be due to the facts that our respondents appear to be a rather select set of comparatively modernized Koreans from urban areas, and that the social status of the American husbands was considerably lower than that of the Korean husbands.

Hypothesis 3 was that the higher the husband's occupational status, the less the wife would participate in family decision making. In contrast, we found that wives of professionals showed much more participation than those of workers. This inverse relationship may be explained by the statement given by Safilios-Rothschild (1967) and Cromwell et al. (1973) that husbands tend to have more egalitarian attitudes toward family decision making as their occupational status increases in the less industrialized countries. The relationship might be further explained by the considerably higher educational level of wives of professionals than that of workers.

Hypothesis 4 was that women whose husbands had a high level of education participate more in family decision making. We found, however, a U-shaped trend, with the wife's influence on decision making high when the husband's

education was either low or high. This result is compatible with the findings of American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960) and West German (König, 1957) family studies.

Hypothesis 5 was that women with a high educational attainment participate more in family decision making than those with low educational attainment. We found a slight, but not significant, tendency in the predicted direction. Perhaps the result would become statistically significant if we had had more respondents.

Hypothesis 6 was that the more the husband's education exceeds that of the wife, the less the wife would share in family decision making. However, this hypothesis was not supported. No relationship was found between the wife's participation in family decision making and the educational differences between the spouses.

Hypothesis 7 was that women who work outside the home would participate more in family decision making. We found, however, a strong inverse relationship between employment of the wife and her participation in family decision making. This is contrary to the findings of most of the previous studies on family decision-making patterns. One possible reason for this surprising result is that unemployed wives are home more and thus have more chances to make family decisions. Another reason could be attributed to the Korean culture, which gives more value to the woman who devotes herself totally to the family

rather than having a job outside the home. The big difference between those who have to work and those who want to work might contribute somewhat to an explanation of the results. There were many more working wives in the worker group than in the professionals among our respondents and, moreover, most of the working wives in the worker group had a much lower education and were engaged in unskilled occupations. Therefore, we could conclude that these facts would not help the wives increase their participation in decision making in the family. A third possible reason could be "motivational withdrawal." This means that one is purposefully removing oneself from an unsatisfactory relationship: Since the wife's gainful employment could be a threat to the husband's stable position as a breadwinner and thus create an undesirable relationship between them, the wife intentionally endeavors to withdraw herself from active participation in decision making in order to avoid an undesirable relationship with her husband.

Hypothesis 8 was that women who have preschool-age children would participate the least in family decision making. A strong tendency was found for wives who have children of preschool-age, under 4, to participate less in family decision making. It is likely that this trend would have reached statistical significance if we had had more respondents.

Finally, it was postulated, Hypothesis 9, that there still exists a strong tendency for husbands to make most of the really important decisions. In contrast to this, we found that joint decision making (42 percent) was just as likely as decision making by the husband (43 percent). Fifteen percent even said that most important decisions were made by the wife. This result indicates that the family decision-making pattern in Korean families living in the United States is already in the process of transition from a traditional form to a more democratic one.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the pattern of participation in decision making among Korean home managers is quite different from that anticipated and unlike the pattern observed in previous research studies on housewives in different cultures. We found more joint decision making and less husband dominance than expected. Also, we did not find any significant change in these patterns with the number of years residence in the United States. In addition, marrying American husbands did not result in a significant increase in decision making.

Most striking was the finding that working wives participate less in family decision makings, rather than more, as had been found for American (Heer, 1958; Blood and Wolfe, 1960), French (Michel, 1967), Greek

(Safilios-Rothschild, 1967) and German (Lamouse, 1969) families. This may be related to the social status of the family, with the lower-class wives more likely to be employed. Among Korean home managers we find that professional husbands leave much more decision making to the wives than working-class husbands. This is an interesting contrast to the opposite findings for American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), French (Michel, 1967), and German (Lamouse, 1969) home managers. But this is compatible with the findings for Greek (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967) and Mexican (Cromwell et al., 1973) families. It should be noted, however, that our respondents are totally unrepresentative of middle-class occupations. With the husband's level of education exceptionally high, the data showed that among Korean families the wife participated more in decision making when the husband had obtained either a very high or low level of education, rather than a medium level. This relationship is compatible with the findings of American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960) and West German (König, 1957) family studies. However, the wife's education did not indicate any significant relationship with her participation in decision making, in spite of previous research which contended that education brings wives knowledge and skills required for decision making and eventually makes them competent and qualified decision makers. A tendency indicating that having preschool-age children

would lower the participation of the wife in decision making was discovered among Korean home managers. A similar tendency was also found in the previous studies with American (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Gillespie, 1971) and French (Michel, 1967) families.

As a pilot study of Korean families, this present study revealed a changing pattern of family decision making from a patriarchal form to a democratic one. Although unique relationships were found for this specific group of Korean families in Salt Lake City, much more research needs to be done with other groups of Korean families.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Study

Our findings apply to Korean home managers living in Salt Lake City. One must be cautious in generalizing these findings to Korean home managers in general. Although our response rate was 100 percent, the small sample size, 72 cases, turned out to be a major factor in preventing us from obtaining more statistically significant findings. The sample was selected from the 1976 Directory of Korean-American Society in Utah. The number of Korean home managers in Salt Lake City not listed in the directory is unknown. We may assume, however, that those not listed in the directory were less subject to cultural influences from other Koreans since joining the

society is a voluntary act. Moreover, the research method was telephone interviewing; consequently, those without telephones could not be interviewed. This might eliminate lower-class respondents and those whose English is so poor that they either have an unlisted number or no telephone at all.

Another limitation is that only wives were interviewed regarding the family decision making pattern. The results might have been different if both husband and wife had been used as respondents.

It is suggested that this study be replicated with another group of Korean home managers and their husbands in the United States, preferably in a larger city such as Los Angeles or New York, where a larger number of Korean families are residing.

Also, similar studies could be conducted with home managers from other oriental countries such as Japan and China. It would be interesting to compare results among home managers from such countries. Such crosscultural comparisons would provide a more objective perspective for the study of both Korean home managers and American home managers.

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APPENDIX

Name _____

Phone _____

I.D. # _____

Part I. Adaptation of the Blood and Wolfe's Family Decision-Making Measure

In every family somebody decides such things as where the family should live and so on. Many families talk these things over first, but the final decision often has to be made by the husband or the wife or some other relative. Would you please tell me who made(makes) the final decision in the following situations?

	<u>Husband Always</u>	<u>Husband More Than Wife</u>	<u>Husband And Wife Jointly</u>	<u>Wife More Than Husband</u>	<u>Wife Always</u>	<u>Other</u>
_____ 1. What job the husband should take	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 2. What car to get	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 3. Which kind of car insurance to get	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 4. How to spend time together (what to do)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 5. Where to go on a vacation	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 6. What home or apartment to take	1	2	3	4	5	_____

	<u>Husband Always</u>	<u>Husband More Than Wife</u>	<u>Husband And Wife Jointly</u>	<u>Wife More Than Husband</u>	<u>Wife Always</u>	<u>Other</u>
_____ 7. Whether or not the wife should go to work or quit work	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 8. What doctor to have when someone is sick	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 9. How the money is used (general family finance)	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 10. How much money the family can afford to spend per week on food	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 11. What to buy at the grocery store	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 12. How the housekeeping should be done	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 13. How to decorate the house	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 14. How many children to have	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 15. How children are to be raised	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 16. Clothing purchases for the <u>wife</u>	1	2	3	4	5	_____

	<u>Husband Always</u>	<u>Husband More Than Wife</u>	<u>Husband And Wife Jointly</u>	<u>Wife More Than Husband</u>	<u>Wife Always</u>	<u>Other</u>
_____ 17. Clothing purchases for the <u>husband</u>	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 18. Clothing purchases for <u>children</u>	1	2	3	4	5	_____
_____ 19. What additional decisions do you feel you are in charge of?						
_____ 20. What additional decisions do you feel your husband is in charge of?						

Part II. Adaptation of the Heer's Generalized Question

_____ 1. When there is a really important decision on which you two are likely to disagree, who usually ends up making the decision?

(1) Husband usually (2) Neither spouse usually (3) Wife usually

Part III. Background Information

_____ 1. How long have you been in the United States?

_____ Years _____ Months

_____ 2. Where, in Korea, did you live most of your lifetime? _____

(Name of town)

(1) Rural (2) Urban

_____ 3. What is your religion?

(1) Protestant (2) Catholic (3) Buddhist (4) None (5) Other _____

_____ 4. If your husband's religion is different from yours, what is it?

(1) Protestant (2) Catholic (3) Buddhist (4) None (5) Other _____

_____ 5. What is your husband's nationality?

(1) Korean (2) American

_____ 6. How long have you been married? _____ Years _____ Months

_____ 7. How many children have you had altogether?

_____ (1) No children (If no children, go to Question #9)

_____ (2) _____ Number of children (Go to Question #8)

_____ 8. What are their ages? _____

_____ 9. How many years of formal education have you completed? _____ Number of years

_____ And what was the highest degree obtained? _____ Name of degree

_____ 10. How many years of formal education has your husband completed?

_____ Number of years

_____ What was the highest degree obtained? _____ Name of degree

_____ 11. Do you work outside the home?

(1) Yes (If Yes, go to Question #12) _____

(2) No (If No, go to Question #14) _____

_____ 12. What kind of job do you have? _____

_____ 13. How many hours do you work per day? _____ Hours

_____ 14. What other organizational activities do you engage in outside the home?

_____ 15. What is your husband's job? _____

_____ 16. Do you plan to return and live in Korea or to be a permanent resident of the United States?

(1) Return and live in Korea (2) Stay in the United States

_____ 17. What was your age as of your last birthday? _____